of new territorial units. Colonies of the same lineage are found in several settlements, so that in any settlement several different descent groups are represented, one of them, as I have already explained, being always dominant in it and identified with the settlement politically. Although the dispersed lineages of a clan do not intermarry, and sometimes acknowledge their common descent in other ways, a man generally thinks in terms of his localized lineage, reference being usually to the ancestor who founded the lineage in his settlement. It is interesting to note a further common feature of lineage systems: the descendants of a man who has settled with his wife's people trace their descent through the wife to the lineage in whose home they live. This practice is, as among the other Nilotic peoples, one of the ways in which stranger lineages are grafted into the genealogical structure of the dominant lineage in a settlement. However, until we know more than we do at present about the distribution of lineages, about their genealogical structure, and about the part they play in inter-settlement relations it will not be possible to estimate fully their political significance.

All the Shilluk settlements compose a common polity, the kingdom of Shillukland. They are

644 are to-day numerous and widely diffused branches
595 of the royal clan whose members are ineligible for
614 royal office and lack authority, unless they are also chiefs of settlements, although they are treated with deference by commoners in virtue of their descent. [62] Indeed, the royal clan is easily the largest single clan in the whole country, being said to comprise perhaps a fifteenth of the nation. In some areas its [622] members are more numerous than commoners and have supplanted commoner lineages in the chief- [173] tainship of settlements. This process, which continues to-day, has been going on for a long time, for it is said that Abudok, the eighth ruler (and only queen) of the Shilluk, prophesied that one day the royal clan would eat up the rest of the Shilluk.[1]
644 It results from the custom of sending pregnant
591 wives of a king from the royal capital to bear their children in other, generally their natal, settlements. Their daughters are not allowed to [611] marry and therefore do not start lines of descent which would count as sisters' sons to the royal house. Their sons are brought up by settlement chiefs, often their mothers' brothers, and not in the capital. When a prince (*nyireth*) marries he builds a separate hamlet near that of the settlement chief

[1] Westermann, *op. cit.* p. 149.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Besides these words descriptive terms are used, formed by the addition of *ba* and *ci* (wife), and *jal* (man), to the terms already given. *Ba* is used to indicate the wife of a descendant of the *reth*, *ci* for the wife of a commoner. Thus *ba wa* or *ci wa* are used for the wife of the *wa* (not the mother), *ba* or *ci na* for the wife of the *na*, *cimada* (from *mat*, a friend) for brother's wife, *jal nyaka* for husband of sister's daughter. In speaking of a particular *ora* a man may describe him definitely, thus: *ora jalnywaja*, lit. "relative-by-marriage, husband-of-my-father's-sister's-daughter".

Wa—father. The term for father is used to indicate the father and his brothers, and the fathers of all those whom the father calls "father's son". Thus, as descent is patrilineal, all men of the father's clan and generation are *wa* "father", all of the grandfather's generation are *kwa*, "grandfather", while all those of the same generation are *uwa*, "father's sons". One might have expected all those of the succeeding generation to be "sons"; this, however, is not so. Only a man's own sons are *wŏde* (sons); the brother's sons are *umade*, "sons of the *mat*." The sister's sons (m.s.) are *oka*, the sister's daughters *nyaka*; they belong to the clan of their father.

Maiya—mother. This is an individual term. All those whom the mother calls *uwa* are *na*, and those whom the mother calls *wa* are *kwa*, the word *kwa* in this sense indicating the generation to which a person belongs and not the clan, although it is also used to signify clan or ancestor. Children address their grandparents with ceremonial politeness, speaking with head averted. All the children of the mother's *uwa* are *una* and *nyina*. Thus all the men and women of the same generation belonging to the mother's clan are regarded to some extent as children of the mother's brother.

Ma—mother's sister. The mother's sister is not classed with the mother; she is called *ma*, a word obviously related to *maiya*. Her children do not belong to the clan of their mother but to that of her husband, so a man or woman calls the children of his mother's sister *una*, thus differentiating them from brother and sister, with whom they are usually identified according to the classificatory system.

Mia.—It might be supposed that *mia*, father's brother's wife, was only a dialectical form of the word for mother, and we do not know whether it is used throughout the Shilluk district. We heard it at Fenikang in circumstances when the meaning was quite definite.

When a man dies, and he has children, his property

*539 428 578 593 626 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for himself. In this case they fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now you want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder one will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 587 768 ● 611 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 *Ŋāŋ ŋípè, ywódé, ɛ bǫ̀ wù̱k, ka kɛ̀l, ka chíkì kɔ̀lò, ka ńan gní e rɛ́ńò, ka biɛ bɛ kwɛ́p: yá nɛ́ka ɡāŋ a wɛr! Ká bɔ̀l gɛ́ch, ka ŋrɛ biɛ wù̱k, kā tyɛ́ń a mɛn kɛɛ́ bɛ yɛ́kí jam, gɛ kán. Ka tyɛ̀kì bɛ̀ŋɛ, leń riɛ́; ka ɛach yák, gyɛn mák, ka lyɛl kɛ̀l. Ka ŋrɛ bɛ̀ŋɛ, ɡɛk a kɛ̀l fɛ̄ɛ Jɛń. Ka ní y dɛk leńe riɛ, ká ɡɛ̀k dù̱k. Ka ɡɛk aryɛn gɛ́ń yí jɔ̄ɛŋ, ka mūje riɛ, ka riɛ e wɔ̀rì, ká è kò: kɛ̀ɛ, chɔ̀l! Ka ŋrɛ chùdì, ka mɛn e kūnɛ ɡɛaá, ka mɛn a kūnɛ ɡɛaá, ka ɡɛk e tūmì, ga pyūrɛ. Ka chwɛk wūr, ka e bɛ̀ŋɛ, ka biɛ yí jɔ̄ɛŋ, kíne: kwɛ́p bɛdà dì? Kíne: kwɛf á tòm. Ka ɡɛk kɛ̀l, ka gɛ tyɛr, ka gɛ mūjɛ kí dyɛk, mɛk kwache tyɛ́ń riɛ. Ka tyɛ́ń riɛ yiɛ́ńì, kíne: ɡāŋ rach! Ka nɛ̀kè kí ɡɛaá mɛ̀kɛ, ka ɡɛk kɛ̀l, ka tyɛ́ń riɛ e bɛ̀ŋɛ, kɛta Fashōdɛ kí tyɛ́ń ɡāŋ, tyɛ́ń ɡāŋɛ ɡɛ̄ɛ ɡɛk abich. Ka riɛ kɛlɛ ɡɛk abich, wɛ́ɛ akyɛl ywɛk nɛ́l fɛl.

*539 682 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

The Shilluk settlement is open, on the other hand, to certain structural weaknesses which follow from its internal organisation. These are pointed out by Pumphrey.(1) Each *wedh* kinship group has a dual loyalty - to its own lineage and to the settlement as represented by the *jago* and the dominant lineage. Only if the settlement chief and his lineage are strong are the loyalties of the hamlet lineages submerged in the larger unit. The cohesion of the settlement is, however, favoured in the rainy season owing to the fact that travelling is difficult and the community tends to be isolated. At such times the influence of the Shilluk *reth* is diminished and he has to rely on the loyalty of the settlement chief; isolation also increases the feeling of unity and the Shilluk clans, being dispersed and without territorial cohesion, are placed at a disadvantage.

Each lineage represented within a settlement has its original hamlet, the *pun duong*, founded by the original immigrant who started the lineage in the settlement, and this is at the head of all hamlets of the lineage which have subsequently been formed in the settlement. The lineage head is the chief of the *pun duong* and represents his lineage in the administration of the settlement unit. New hamlets are continually being founded by ambitious young men - usually in the same settlement as the parent hamlet and subservient to it, but occasionally they are started in another part of the country. The offshoots from the original hamlet (*pun duong*) in the same settlement are called *nyole nyer* and are included under the name of the original hamlet, but if some grow important and large they will acquire separate names. Some originally powerful hamlets may eventually disintegrate altogether.

The lineages, and therefore the hamlets within a settlement, are closely related through kinship ties of one sort and another. A common feature in many lineage systems, and one which is also found among the Shilluk, is that the descendants of a man who has settled with his wife's people trace their descent through the female link to the lineage in whose home they live. Howell quotes specific instances in which this occurred in a settlement.(2)

The *wedh* lineages are thus grafted on to the dominant lineages of a settlement. Intermarriage occurs between members and relationship is traced through female links, the *wedh* lineage becoming 'sister's sons', and thus the structural differentiation within a settlement is greatly mitigated. The settlement is an integrated unit bound together by territorial unity, common economic and legal interests, allegiance to one chief and to a dominant lineage to which all are connected in some way, and finally, bound by the necessity of mutual co-operation during the rainy season and in times of danger from outside sources. To counterbalance this, there are lineage loyalties and lines of structural cleavage within the settlement. These, in certain circumstances, such as weak leadership and dissatisfaction with their representation by the chief to the central authority, may cause the settlement unit to be rent by internal feuds and fissions.

Divisions

There are 11 divisions as follows:-(3)

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.7. (2) Howell, *S.N.R.* 1941, Vol.XXIV, p.55.
(3) Howell and Thompson, *S.N.R.* 1946, Vol.XXVII, Fig.2.

Amayku's nephews founded a hamlet across the water-course but is now dead and left no sons. In this example the offshoot has come to nothing. *Pa Ding* also, from which sprang *Pa Rem* and *Pa Both* and which is of long standing, is now disintegrating. Its occupants have not been prolific and there have been too many offshoots for it to remain undiminished. It is now occupied by one man only. *Ogwak* on the other hand is flourishing and has two well-established offshoots. Thus hamlets are founded and in some cases prosper and the inhabitants increase in number. The founder is often joined by a brother or colateral relative and later the occupants may not be the direct descendants of the founder[4]. In other instances those long-established disintegrate and are sometimes abandoned altogether. The settlement is never a static formation but a dynamic and changing association of lineages, who split up among themselves within the boundaries or send out offshoots to settle in other parts of the country. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency towards stabilization. In the past, the settlement was only a loose alliance of local branches of the clan, similar in construction and significance to the larger divisions of the tribe. However, the limited size of the area and constant contact have produced an integral unit of the social body bound by something more than a vague tradition of military co-operation. The inhabitants of a settlement live in close proximity, gave legal and economic interests in common and look to their chief to represent their collective grievances in the affairs of the tribe. A mutual protection pact is, however, the basis on which they are grouped together and in this connection it is necessary to give some account of the age-sets into which they are organized.

4. In *Dhok Alal* it is interesting to note that in at least three cases hamlets have been founded by the husbands of female members of the lineage. Thus *Pa Mau Collo* was started by the husband of the daughter of *Adultung*. The daughter of *Kukwei* married into some other clan and left the territory, but her son returned to found *Pa Lual*. The daughter of *Gither* married a man from *Ayigo* and together they settled in *Dhok Alal* and their hamlet is considered an extension of *Pa Gither*. In a few cases the Shilluk settle matrilocally as in the case of *Adultung's* grandson. Often the descendants of a man who has settled in his wife's home seem to trace descent matrilineally, and will often mention the name of their mother's father, if asked their lineage, rather than a forbear in the paternal line. This is a legal fiction of convenient usage and is not technically recognised. The test of exogamy does not apply for a man would not seek to marry into his mother's lineage, but it is a claim which provides protection and added prestige to the individual who lives in close proximity to his mother's kinsmen.